Some of the effects of this change can be seen in the growing wealth of cantineros, observable in changes in house construction, and a shift to the raising of small livestock (always an alternative strategy) by women who must support themselves. With regard to drinking performances, the effect of the change in retailers seems to have been an increase in the number of drinking performances--especially for boys and young men, whose limited ceremonial responsibilities have made them relatively infrequent drinkers in the past. In turn, the increase in the number of drinking situations has required slight modification in the timing of the drinking--men seem to drink for shorter periods of time. Thus, for example, drinking on Sunday is becoming more common, but the continuation of drinking on a second day (Monday) has decreased. These matters will be spelled out in more detail in later sections.

Age-sex distribution of drinking

Aguardiente is bought by men who have control of money, and it is drunk almost exclusively by them. Women drink rarely, and it is considered inappropriate for them to do so. Children do not drink at all; boys begin to drink on festive occasions at fifteen or sixteen, and it is probably relevant that by this time they are old enough to work for wages and usually have some money of their own. Old men often give up drinking except when, as of-

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Behavior Defined in the Family

Socialization in the family provides the individual with the idiom for behaving in the wider community. The basic principles ordering behavior are respect and obedience toward those who are older, and care for those who are younger. Obedience, expressed by the verb *ʔan* which means both to believe (or to be gullible) and to obey, is instilled by cultivating a sense of fear and shame. Fear is communicated by the parent to the child by invoking evil spirits and by the threat or use of punishment, especially whipping with a leather strap. Shame is aroused by ridicule, jeering, and chastising. A good child is a quiet child; questioning is discouraged either by refusing to answer the child or by telling him to keep quiet. The negative aspect of good behavior is stressed. Significantly, the phrase "Behave yourself!" is translated into Spanish as "Don't do anything!" Good behavior is not rewarded either by praise or by gifts. The only public demonstration of affection toward children I have seen is by grandparents toward grandchildren: an elder might give his sweet roll at a ceremony to his grandchild and even fondle him. Parents show affection to youngsters under three years of age, although the last child may be coddled somewhat longer. Mothers and young children show intimacy and affection in delousing each other or combing each others' hair. Kissing is not a sign of intimacy but of formal respect in ceremonies.

Beliefs concerning conception show awareness of both the male and the female contribution to the fetus. The man's sperm (*snal*) enters the womb, *yoʔtan*, (also the word for heart) and mixes with the woman's flow, to bring about conception. The blood of a child is believed to come from its mother and the skin, bones, and brains from the father. During pregnancy, the father must have intercourse with his wife because his sperm nourishes the fetus. This continues right up to the birth of the child. Men too are believed to have wombs, and some men have trouble with "dropped wombs" caused by lifting heavy burdens.

The only people in attendance at the birth of a child are the women of the immediate household, the mother of the woman giving birth if she is not a part of the houshold, and the midwife. Children are kept out of the

184 60 ones, the terminology consistently emphasizes the distinction between direct and collateral relatives. In that sense, and only in that sense, the terminology usage reflects the consistency between the linguistic realm and the non-linguistic behavior realms, a consistency which has been assumed by many anthropologists to be axiomatic.

561 562 The Ordering of Social Relations

In both communities relative age and sex are important in the structuring of social relations within the household and throughout the community. The exact chronological age of an individual is often unknown, but his relative age, with respect to siblings, cousins, relatives and other people who live close by, is always known. Any two individuals can always place each other in terms of seniority or order of birth.

561 Children are classified as those who are still at the mother's breast and cannot walk (husul 'it), small walking children (kosh kerem), pre-adolescents (hc' iel), and adolescents of marriageable age (tek' el). Married men are distinguished by whether they have children, by whether they have or do not have an independent household, and by the number of cargos they have passed in the government. Mature men are classified as still being active in the civil-religious hierarchy or as being pasados. Pasados are separated into those who are just old (mamal) and those who are principales.

858 Little babies and small children are not always counted as part of the household because they die so easily. They can have their souls "stolen" by other children who are still in their

858 mother's womb, and they compete for survival with other small
854 babies who live close by (one of the two is likely to die). They
854 are extremely susceptible to the mal de ojo (evil eye)[1] because their souls are tender, and they are, for the same reason, easy victims of witchcraft exercised against their parents. During the first few months of life, they are protected and cared for with innumerable precautions: they are covered up when strangers enter the House, attended at the slightest sign of distress, and
[813] rarely taken out of the sitio. Until another child is born, they sleep with the parents on the same petate (mat) or bed.

855 When a mother is ready to have a new baby, the younger
861 one is given to an elder sister or grandmother with whom it can sleep. The baby is also weaned at this time. The separation of the child from the mother is an open traumatic experience, and parents admit that children get sick and even die as a result of "jealousy." Nevertheless, no direct attempt is made to smooth the emotional disturbances or the developing sibling rivalry in

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[1] The evil eye has been described innumerable times for
[846] Middle America. In the Chiapas Highlands it is a sickness caused
[843] by a person with strong or "hot" eyes, who looks at the victim.
[841] Evil eye "carriers" are not necessarily aware of their power, but some individuals are consciously included in this category: pregnant women, menstruating women, and people with glasses or light eyes, or with very deep set eyes. To avoid giving "mal de ojo," the producer has to touch the person who can be a victim. If a menstruating woman distractedly looks at a small baby, she will immediately put her hand on the baby's forehead, to retrieve from him her power, and not make him sick.

The same procedure of touching the person is done if the other person feels that he is unwillingly "envying" the first one, and can be an unconscious witchcraft mediator. For example, if a married woman without babies sees another woman's baby, she will touch him to show that she is not "envying" the mother, and therefore, there is no danger that she will "steal" the baby's soul or make him sick with her envy.